

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The Historic Advance  
of World Socialism



NEW YORK  
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

*By the Same Author*

Outline Political History of the Americas

The Negro People in American History

Outline History of the World Trade Union Movement

History of the Three Internationals

Pages from a Worker's Life

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 60-16855

Copyright, 1960

by INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., INC

 209  
*Printed in the U.S.A.*

## C O N T E N T S

1. The Capitalist System and Its Crisis	5
2. The Broad Class Struggle In Its Three Phases, Up Till the Russian Revolution	10
3. From the Russian Revolution, 1917 to the End of World War 2, 1945	21
4. Fascism Threatens to Destroy the Labor Movement	27
5. The Revolutionary Aftermath of World War 2 and the Cold War, Until Geneva, 1955	29
6. The Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence	39
7. The Growing World Predominance of Socialism	44

# 1. The Capitalist System And Its Crisis

During the past several decades, the world has been the scene of innumerable great convulsions and upheavals. These include the outbreak of two imperialist world wars of unparalleled devastation; the occurrence of dozens of "small" wars; the development of a sweeping peace and disarmament movement; many socialist revolutions in various countries; numerous anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolutions; the rise and fall of a number of fascist governments; the outbreak of unparalleled economic crises; vast trade union strikes in many lands; the growth of powerful monopolies which devour the small fry of industry; the rapid shift from capitalist to socialist production on a world scale; and innumerable other major economic and political events and struggles. And over the world, for the past decade, has hung the threat of a third world war, which has terrorized humanity with the menace of unparalleled atomic destruction.

The fundamental meaning of these profound events is that world capitalism is in general crisis and that it is in the process of being changed by the power of the militant working class and its allies from capitalism to socialism, from the autocratic dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat in its various forms.

\* \* \*

"The capitalistic era dates from the 16th century" (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 787, New York, 1947). From the outset, capitalism has been based upon the narrowest sentiments of greed and self-interest. Each capitalist strives to survive as best he can; each for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Inevitably, the system produces great extremes of poverty among the propertyless, and wealth among the big owners of industry and the land. A classical picture of the universal poverty among the early English workers was given in Frederick Engels' book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. Men, women, and children, at that time, worked 12 hours or more a day, seven days a week, and got in return hardly enough to eat, while the capitalist masters reveled in idleness and luxury. The other early capitalist coun-

tries were as bad off or worse. This is still characteristic of capitalism over great parts of the world.

Capitalism got well started first in England and Western Europe. It gradually spread eastward on the continent, reaching Germany and other nearby countries late in the 18th century. To the west, the United States was one of the first countries to experience capitalistic growth. Even before the American Revolution, in 1776, there were many small capitalist enterprises in America. The British capitalists, because of their country's early start, became the leading power, and their nation was known as "the workshop of the world." They did their utmost to prevent capitalism from spreading to other countries, except in such limited forms as worked out to the advantage of British industry. Capitalism did not reach the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and then only in very sketchy forms, until about the turn of the 20th century.

The capitalist system, which throughout its existence has been animated by greedy expansionist tendencies, began about the middle of the 19th century to consolidate its forces in Europe and elsewhere into monopolies, a tendency which has continued increasingly to date. The industries combined with the big banks, and together the resultant finance capital became the dominant force in the respective governments by the end of that century. About 1917, as pointed out by Lenin, the big trusts began an increasing invasion of the government, and imperialism became state-monopoly capitalism. The former national wars to build the various capitalist states developed into imperialist wars, widespread mass slaughters, the greatest in the history of the world, organized by the big powers.

The imperialist powers, especially in the last quarter of the 19th century, opened up vigorous campaigns to seize the large number of undeveloped and relatively helpless countries throughout the world, and to reduce them to dependent colonies. In 1914, six imperialist powers—Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, the United States, and Japan—possessed as colonies a total area of 81.5 million square miles, with a population of 960 million people. Great Britain alone held one-fourth of the world (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 152, New York, 1942). This practically completed the division of the world among the imperialist powers.

Henceforth, the voracious capitalist states could extend their land-holdings only by robbing each other, which, without delay, they proceeded to do. The world was kept teetering on the brink of a devastating world war by the wolf-like quarrels among the imperialists. This impossible situation finally climaxed, in August, 1914, in World War I, which was an unparalleled slaughter, brought on by the cold-blooded efforts of the leading imperialist powers to despoil each other and to rule the world. The greedy imperialists looked on the workers and peasants as only so much work animals and "cannon-fodder," to be ruthlessly butchered by the masters as they saw fit—a fatal miscalculation on their part, as the masses fought back, disastrously for capitalism.

While capitalism represented historically a progressive advance over the feudal system, this progress was skimpy and inadequate. The capitalist system has many fundamental flaws. Worst of all, and most decisive, it impoverishes the working masses of the world. Everywhere the bulk of the people, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, have been habitually on the brink of actual starvation. Moreover, capitalism never introduced democracy in a real sense to the masses. The only freedom they have is what they fought hard to win. The system is a capitalist dictatorship. Capitalism, not the least throughout the American continent, made a 350 year record of cooperating with the big landowners in establishing actual slavery on a mass scale, through the infamous slave trade.

In many other ways, capitalism, with its central attention always fastened upon protecting the financial welfare of the capitalist class and its retainers, has failed to bring a liberating influence to the great mass of humanity. For one thing, the capitalists have allowed (forced) the masses of people to remain in comparative illiteracy. The rulers have always considered education, especially higher education, to be their private prerogative. The great majority of humanity, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, are almost totally illiterate. Historically, under capitalism, the only education that the masses have is what they fought for. Also, capitalism fails to bring culture to the masses. Instead, the system cultivates the worst forms of literary trash and obscurantism among the

people. For a while in the early years of capitalism, many of that system's ideologists, fighting against feudal hangovers, among which the Church occupied a central role, fought against religion in general. But that is all past now; feudalism is long since defeated and largely abolished in much of the world, and capitalism has made peace with religion. Whereas, formerly, the capitalists said that science and religion were opposed to each other, and they sought to separate the church and the state, today they are using religion as a powerful means to befuddle the minds of the workers, and to hold them in subjection. Nowadays, religion is one of the foundations of the capitalist system. As capitalism has grown, with it has developed a typically wide variety of capitalist forms of vice—organized gambling, prostitution, narcotic peddling, juvenile delinquency, and other methods of undermining the morale of the people. All these commercialized activities can be classed under the head of big business in modern capitalist regimes.

The capitalist system has also failed in its elementary test of industrializing the world. Its essential tendency has always been to restrict industry to a few countries (to as few as possible) and to make the rest of the world (as lacking in industry as can be) agricultural slaves to the industrialized imperialist nations. And one of its most deplorable features, capitalist industry experiences collapses, cyclical crises, every few years, and the workers, before the advent of strong labor organization, almost always had to starve through these crises with no income whatever. The main thing which the capitalist governments always keep closely in mind is to see to it that above all the profits of the idle, parasitic owners of industry should be protected.

One of the very greatest evils of capitalism, too, is its failure to put an end to the hoary monster, war. The advent of capitalism in the world marked a tremendous growth of war-making. Up to about the middle of the 19th century, the many capitalist wars were mostly of a national character, relatively restricted—that is, by mass blood-letting of the people, capitalists proceeded to build up the national states to their liking; but since then, the wars have taken on an immense, imperialist character, spreading throughout the world, counting their victims in tens of millions, and transforming the most

advanced techniques of science and industry into the cultivation of wholesale killing for profit. So tremendously have the war activities grown, that now they actually threaten the very existence of the planet. Always a source of rich returns to the capitalist merchants of death, war became an important prop of the capitalist system.

Everywhere, in all countries of the world, for the past few centuries, the producing masses in field and factory, in the capitalist countries and the colonial countries, have waged a constructive and growing struggle against hunger and the oppression of the exploiting owners. This struggle against the different forms of capitalist slavery, which has reached the deepest extremes of bitterness, has gone on from the beginning of capitalism, and has extended in an ever-increasing scale up to the present time. These class struggles have taken on innumerable forms and characteristics, from the earliest, simplest resistance of the workers as machine-breakers, up to the modern establishment of socialist governments. The tales afloat in the capitalist countries to the effect that capitalism is gradually turning to socialism, are lies on their face. We have socialism in the world, and will have it increasingly, when the workers and other toilers establish it by their united economic and political class struggle.

The world's anti-capitalist forces may be roughly grouped under three heads. *First*, there are the world's conscious revolutionary anti-capitalist forces which are striving directly and increasingly to displace the capitalist system by the establishment of socialist countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are very numerous, and are rapidly becoming the dominant political force internationally. *Second*, there are also a great number of democratic mass organizations, containing many millions of members. These organizations—trade unions, labor parties, peasants groups, women's and youth organizations, etc.—are in their majority of a revolutionary ideology and are a direct anti-imperialist influence; however, a large minority of them follow a reformist point of view, and are often headed by pro-capitalist leaders, and animated by non-revolutionary programs; nevertheless, due to their working class composition and activities, they tend to have a weakening effect on capitalism. Then, *third*, in addition to the foregoing two great



groups fighting against capitalism, there are the many million-headed liberation struggles of the anti-imperialist colonial or semi-colonial countries.

These three broad types of peoples' movements, although they differ widely from each other in their leadership, programs, tactics, etc., have much in common with one another in their general or periodic antagonism to the capitalist system. They are essentially anti-capitalist, anti-monopoly, or anti-imperialist, although in greatly varying manner and degree. They all tend to abolish or weaken the capitalist system, and all told, they are the forces that are tearing capitalism to pieces and are building up world socialism.

Under the capitalist system, these three broad currents of resistance and revolt generally organize and fight in independent organizations. Despite opportunist leaders, ordinarily they are friendly to each other and practice cooperation. From the early years of labor, a century or more ago, the history of the movement is full of accounts of mutual cooperation between these three currents. And practice in the Soviet Union, People's China, and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia has shown that when a people become socialist, all their previously independent or semi-independent movements of resistance and revolt join together in one socialist movement.

## **2. The Broad Class Struggle In Its Three Phases, Up Till The Russian Revolution**

The workers, first in England, and eventually throughout the entire capitalist world, early began to struggle to protect themselves against capitalist exploitation and oppression. They fought for better wages and working hours; against speed-up; for the protection of children and women workers; against chattel slavery and peonage; for the rights to work, to organize, and to vote; against the unjust imprisonment of workers; for social insurance in all its forms; for the protection and health of workers in industry; for mass education and culture; for the defense of their homelands against imperialist subjugation; for

the preservation of peace; for disarmament; and so on.

The more advanced working class elements demanded, in increasing numbers, that capitalism should be abolished and supplanted by the system of socialism, which would forever put an end to the exploitation of man by man. The growing and ever more conscious working class was increasingly resolved that it would not be enslaved by the employers, but would more and more demand that its expanding production be used for the improvement of its own conditions. To this end, it cultivated allies among the peasantry, small business interests, and other anti-capitalist elements.

The workers soon learned, not only in England, but in all countries and at all times, that their demands for improvements, however slight and no matter how burninglly necessary to the workers, always had to encounter the most vicious resistance on the part of the employers. What the latter were solely interested in were their own personal profits. They cared nothing for the welfare of the masses—men, women, or children. Whether the improvements sought were economic, political, or social, they had to be refused, and if possible, defeated. Consequently, the workers, world-wide and throughout the two or more centuries of life of the capitalist system up until World War I, were subjected to organized persecution by the employers.

The capitalists always had the state and the church at their disposal as helpers in the exploitation of the workers. The clericals were hardly outdone by the capitalist economists and politicians in devising means to exploit and defeat the workers. As a general result, the workers, by the tens of thousands, languished in jails, starved during strikes, and were ruthlessly shot down in political struggles all over the capitalist world. Particularly murderous were the employers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Russia, etc., who massacred their workers with troops. Hardly any capitalists were more greedy and brutal than the super-millionaires who already controlled United States industry, and who had made a very lurid record of the most rigorous and unscrupulous oppression and robbery of the workers. The fierce exploitation of the workers by capitalism gave birth to a class struggle more acute and widespread than anything the world had previously known. This struggle continues, and

will go on, in different forms and on a world front, until the working class and its allies eventually vanquish the capitalists and abolish their reactionary system. The following is a general analysis of the broad anti-capitalist struggle.

*The Building of Revolutionary Organizations:* During the long initial period in question, until the Russian Revolution, the working class made many achievements. The most important of these was the working out of the principles of scientific socialism. This was done mainly by Karl Marx and his colleague, Frederick Engels, both of whom were born in Germany, the first in 1818, and the other in 1820. They laid down the theoretical and practical program of the world's working class and its allies. They replaced the earlier vague programs of the labor movement and of Utopian socialists with a series of scientific propositions. This they did through a number of books, chief of which were the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Capital* (1867). These books are the most important documents ever written. In the latter part of this general period before the Russian Revolution, V. I. Lenin, born in Russia in 1870, began to play a decisive role in the world socialist movement in the 1890's. He was an outstanding theoretician and tactician, a great follower of Marx and Engels, and a very brilliant thinker and practical leader in his own right. He made basic and original theoretical contributions to Marxism. After his death in 1924, Marxism became known universally as Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism spread very rapidly in the last half of the 19th century, quickly becoming the accepted philosophy of the more conscious workers in all capitalist countries. Other labor conceptions fell into minor positions. As early as the First (Socialist) International (1864-1876), sectarian deviationists, mainly Anarchists under Bakunin, were the main internal danger. They were theoretically opposed to the Marxists, and their tendency was to precipitate the workers' organizations into untimely and ill-prepared strikes and revolutionary actions. They especially were the advocates of the general strike upon nearly all occasions. This led the workers to repeated defeats. There was a bitter struggle in the International between the Marxists and the Bakuninists, in which the latter played a disruptive role. As a result, the headquarters of the Interna-

tional was moved to New York in 1872, where it was altogether dissolved in 1876. Lenin, in his day, was a strong opponent of Anarchism, Syndicalism, and all forms of dogmatism and sectarianism.

With the growth and widespread upswing of imperialism in this broad period, which greatly affected many skilled workers and their leaders, revisionistic ideas began to seep into the socialist movement. Germany was the main theoretical center of revisionism, and Eduard Bernstein, its chief spokesman. In 1898 he expressed his opportunistic theories in the book, published in the United States in a shortened version under the title *Evolutionary Socialism*. Bernstein, who continued to call himself a Marxist, challenged the basic substance of the main Marxist theories—of surplus value, the class struggle, the materialist conception of history, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the law of the concentration of capital. He supported imperialism and colonialism, and bourgeois patriotism. He especially attacked the Marxist theory of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class, and ridiculed the term "dictatorship of the proletariat." He declared that a socialist revolution was both unnecessary and impossible. Bernsteinism made much progress, so that by the time of World War I it was predominant in most of those organizations which called themselves socialist, except in Russia and a few other countries. The development of Bernsteinism was to have the most profound results, which are still a potent force in the world. All modern revisionism is more or less Bernsteinism brought up to date.

The Marxist wing of the socialist movement took up the cudgels against the right-wing attempt, through Bernsteinism, to castrate Marxism. Its principal spokesman, V. I. Lenin, was the brilliant defender of Marxism from the revisionists' and sectarians' attempts to destroy it. Lenin brought forward the basic theories of Marx and Engels, which the revisionists thought they had buried forever; and he also developed Marxism further, embracing the many problems generated in all countries by the epoch of imperialism. Lenin collided with the revisionists on all major points, especially attacking their fundamentally wrong analysis of imperialism. The revisionists saw in the phenomenon of expanding imperialism the soften-

ing of class antagonisms, the necessity of class collaboration, the transformation of the state into an organism standing apart from the classes, the growth of capitalist stability, the development of "organized" capitalism, and generally the ending of the period of revolution and the opening up of opportunities for society to make a gradual and peaceful evolution of capitalism toward socialism. They considered the basic theories of Marx and Engels obsolete, as applying only to the earlier competitive stage of capitalism. Lenin, on the other hand, saw in imperialism the intensification of class and national antagonisms, the beginning of the decline of capitalism, the opening of a new era of great wars and revolutions. He defended the writings of Marx and Engels as having full validity in this epoch as in others, and he made them the basis of all his analyses of revolutionary activity. He developed the basic principles of the Communist Party, and he wrote extensively on the actual building of socialism. Lenin's development of Marxism eventually assumed world-shaking importance as the guiding factor in the great socialist and communist movements and countries.

Sometimes, in the earlier stages, the workers' struggles, although generally of a limited character, took the form of attempts to abolish the capitalist system outright. Such, for example, were, in essence, the struggles of the English Chartists of 1836-48. Although the Chartists fought formally for a reform program of six points, the movement was so intense and large, and met with such violent employer and government opposition, that it threatened the very existence of English capitalism. The workers, particularly in France and Germany, also developed powerful revolutionary movements in the broad bourgeois revolutions throughout most of Europe in 1848. The workers in France, in 1871, led a very strong revolutionary movement in the Paris Commune. This heroic struggle, raised in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, resulted in the workers and their allies seizing political power, which they bravely held for 72 days. This was the first historic example of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then there was the 1905 Revolution in Czarist Russia. The workers there made the biggest effort of all to that time to win political power and later to end capitalism altogether. The great movement, of

which Lenin was the strong leader, was finally defeated. It proved, however, a dress rehearsal for the successful 1917 Revolution.

*Building the Mass Democratic Organizations:* In the broad period before the Russian Revolution, there were not so many democratic mass organizations as in later times. Nor were they so definitely separated from one another. The principal ones were the trade unions, the cooperatives, and various types of labor parties. They differed widely from each other in ideology, ranging from the most radical types to outright bourgeois types. There was a strong element of cooperation between them and the organizations in the other broad groups, proving that basically, despite their wide differences in ideology, they were all parts, in varying degrees, of the anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist movement. The fact that many of these organizations, backward politically, had more or less of the bosses' ideology, greatly reduced their value to the working class.

The working class conducted innumerable struggles and achieved many accomplishments, prior to the Russian Revolution, which drastically changed the world situation. The workers fought for better wages and shorter hours, for the right to vote—throughout Europe the class system of voting prevailed until after World War I, and in most undeveloped countries, containing the bulk of humanity, the voting rights for the workers did not exist at all. The workers also fought to maintain world peace, although unsuccessfully, particularly after the rise of monopoly and imperialism. They fought, too, for the elementary principles of social security, and won them in most of the industrial countries except the United States. But the colonial lands remained entirely bereft of these basic reforms. The workers also, as a part of their general program, fought for all forms of protective legislation in the factories—regarding women and child workers, health and safety regulation, etc. All these reforms met the rigid and universal opposition of the employers.

During all these struggles the workers constructed various political parties and organizations of all sorts. At first, as in England and France, these were hardly more than loose revolutionary groups; but eventually they took on definite and permanent form, which carried on day-to-day struggles. At the

outbreak of World War I in 1914, for example, there were 27 socialist and labor parties (nearly all in Europe, the British Dominions, and the United States) with a supporting electorate of about 12 million voters. The representatives of some of the socialist and labor parties in parliament were as follows: Germany, 110; France, 103; Finland, 90; Austria-Hungary, 82; Italy, 80; Sweden, 73; Great Britain, 42; and the Australian Labor Party held a parliamentary majority. The United States at that time had only one socialist representative in Congress, and he was expelled because of suspected lack of patriotism. But for the "class system" of voting prevailing all over Europe, the socialist parliamentary representation would have been much larger. During the years, the workers had built up two main socialist internationals—the International Workingmen's Association (The First International, 1864-76) and the Second International, formed in 1889. All the socialist organizations, economic and political, followed the lead and attended the congresses of the Second International, forming a great majority of the world's organized labor movement.

The workers, conducting endless strikes and other struggles, also built up an extensive union organization prior to the Russian Revolution. At first, they took the negative line of breaking machinery; but about the same time they adopted a form of organization, found in nearly all countries, known as "friendly societies." These were mutual aid, or benefit, bodies. They ante-dated the trade unions, and were the forerunners of many forms of fraternal and insurance bodies. The trade unions, consisting mostly of skilled workers, got well started in England by the middle of the 18th century, and they gradually spread to other countries with the growth of the capitalist system. At first, trade unions were considered a peculiarly English institution, and delegations of workers went to England from other countries to study them. The unions in England and elsewhere, over the years, led tens of thousands of strikes, which were always bitterly resisted by the employers, as was the formation of the unions themselves. At the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917, there were some 7,500,000 union members in 19 trade union national centers. There was no trade union international, except a loose secretariat. Another important early form of worker organization were the coopera-

tives, some of production, but most of distribution. By World War I there were about 30,000 distributive cooperatives in Europe, with some nine million members. They mostly followed the Social-Democratic lead. Like the trade unions, the cooperatives as yet had no international organization of their own, but sent delegates to the socialist congresses nationally and internationally.

Together with all these organizations and their activities, the anti-capitalist tendency also gave rise to numerous groupings of an anarchist and syndicalist character. These, mostly of a non-political or anti-political nature, took the form of trade unions, loose groupings, etc., and were strongest in the Latin countries. They tended chiefly towards "leftism." They especially practiced the general strike. However, nearly all adopted the opportunistic line of supporting World War I. By the time of the war they had largely lost their key position to other unions, and they did not regain it.

*The Anti-Imperialist Struggle:* Besides these political activities and organizations in the period prior to World War I, the labor movement also supported anti-imperialist activities and organizations. Notably, Marx and Engels were most active in the long struggle, after the beginning of the 19th century, to abolish Negro chattel slavery. The slaves were the victims of aggressive capitalist powers, which stole them from their native Africa and deported them to other countries, especially in the Americas, as life-long slaves. One of the great wars in connection with this movement was the Civil War in the United States, in which Marx and Engels played a very important part as writers commenting on day to day political and military events and organizing support among the working class of Europe to the aims of the Civil War. The abolition of chattel slavery was one of the greatest victories ever won by the workers and their allies in this entire period.

During the same decades, the workers organized in the First Socialist International, led by Marx, carried on, among other struggles, an active campaign against the imperialist occupation of one country by another, in the great anti-imperialist section of the broad movement against capitalism. They fought against the enslavement of Ireland by England, of Italy by Austria, and of Poland by Czarist Russia, Germany, and Aus-



tria. In the latter half of the 19th century, there was also the beginning of anti-imperialist resistance by the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. These movements were actively supported by the Communist leaders, particularly Marx and Engels. They included many wars in Africa against the subjugation of the countries in that continent by the invading imperialists. In India, too, there was the great "Indian Mutiny" of 1857, the first big struggle of the Indian people against the imperialist English government. Marx also paid much attention to this historic struggle, giving it world-wide publicity, and drawing fundamental lessons from it. Somewhat later, Engels also drew a revolutionary perspective for the colonial countries of Persia, Egypt, etc. During this long period, China fought valiantly against England, the United States, Germany, Japan, France and other imperialist countries, which were trying to subjugate it. Among the more important Chinese struggles were the Opium War of 1839, the Taiping Revolution of 1850-60, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 against eight imperialist powers, and the Chinese Revolution of 1911. In his time Marx also paid basic attention to these early stages of the Chinese Revolution. With great foresight, speaking of the Taiping Revolution, Marx wrote: "The Chinese Revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system, and cause the explosion of the long prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the continent." (*Marx on China*, London, 1851).

The various anti-imperialist struggles, supported by Marx and Engels, were in line with other anti-colonial struggles of preceding decades, before the labor movement was organized. Thus, the American Revolution of 1776 was a successful armed revolt of the American colonists against Great Britain; the revolutionary war of its colonies against the mother country, Spain, in 1810 and adjacent years, all over Latin America, was a great anti-colonial struggle; the revolt in Brazil, against the controlling country, Portugal, also in 1810, was of a similar character. Canada won its independence somewhat later, in 1867. All these revolts had serious consequences for the exploiting countries, Spain and Portugal definitely losing their positions as world leaders, never to regain them. Anti-colonial

struggle has always been a most serious enemy of giant imperialist combinations.

With the growth of industry and the labor movement in the pre-1917 period, there was a strong and growing tendency in capitalism, as we have noted, to form monopolies and to develop imperialism. Consequently, the ensuing big capitalist combinations tended to dominate the capitalist system as a whole, its industries and its states. Lenin, particularly, wrote about this development. More and more, the fight against these great monopolies became prominent in every fight of labor for even the simplest propositions of democracy. Also, and more markedly, in later years, the fight of organized labor became decisively centered against the big monopolies. But politically advanced labor fought not only against the monopolies, but for the abolition of the capitalist system.

Prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the socialist and labor movement, as we have seen, conducted many struggles in the face of desperate and unscrupulous opposition of employers and the state, and with little organized strength of their own to go on. Their chief organizations at the time included some 12,000,000 socialist voters, 7,500,000 trade unionists, and 9,000,000 members of cooperatives (with much duplication and triplication of membership). Although a very considerable number, the socialist movement at the end of the period represented only a small minority of the working class and its potential allies. As for the anti-imperialist forces in the colonies, they were very scattering, and did not lend themselves to exact statistics.

From the outset of this anti-colonial movement, it was given the utmost attention by Marx and Engels at the time of the First International, and likewise by Lenin in the general period of the 1905 Russian Revolution and down to the Revolution of 1917. These great Communist leaders understood the anti-imperialist activities to be part of the general fight of the working class and its allies against capitalism. They conducted the struggle along three main channels—chiefly on the political, economic, and anti-imperialist fields—and on a world scale. The revisionist leaders of the Second International, however, paid but little attention to the fight of the oppressed nations against imperialist oppression. Their decisive trend was to

make the Second International practically a European movement, and to abandon the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries to the imperialists. They themselves degenerated rapidly in the direction of imperialism and colonialism.

The several rival imperialist state powers, quarreling bitterly, grew at rapidly changing rates of speed. In his *Political Economy* (New York, 1949, p. 135) John Eaton says: "In 1860 England produced over half of the world's coal and pig iron, and about half of the world's cotton goods. By 1913, her share in world production of each of these commodities had fallen to 22%, 13%, and 23%, respectively. Vast new industries had grown up to rival Britain in other countries, particularly in Germany and the United States." In *American Imperialism* (New York, 1951, p. 25) Victor Perlo says: "Between 1899 and 1913, steel production in the United States and Germany increased three-fold, while British steel production increased by little more than 50%, and iron production declined. The former industrial leader of the world fell far behind its rivals. By 1913, the United States was easily the leading industrial power." Murderous war was the capitalist method of changing the world political relations of the states in accordance with their varying economic production.

World War I started July 28, 1914, and lasted until November 11, 1918; it engaged 65 million soldiers, caused 10 million deaths, 21 million wounded, and cost \$339 billion. It was waged between two groups of powers: Great Britain, France, Russia, the United States, etc., on the one hand, which won; and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, on the other side. The war was started by the killing of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand, in Sarajevo, Serbia. It was a cold-blooded, imperialistic mass slaughter, waged by the various powers to rob each other of their lands, markets, and control. The workers of the several countries were supposed, as usual, to submit to this wholesale murder, which was perhaps the greatest political miscalculation ever made, as this war was the starting point of the world Socialist Revolution.

The international socialist movement, for many years, had anticipated just such a great war, and it had gone on record against it. Upon the initiative of Lenin, at the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart in 1907, the Socialist Parties

declared unanimously that they would not only not endorse the war, or give it men and money, but would "utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule." This was repeated at another International Conference in Bern, Switzerland, in 1912. But when the crucial moment arrived at the outbreak of the war, two years later, the opportunist, revisionist leaders ignored their previous stand against war. The Socialist Party of Germany, on August 3, 1914, voted for the war; the Socialist Parties of France, England, and other countries, followed suit; the Russians were about the only ones who stood fast against it. The labor movement was thus betrayed. There took place the great split in the labor movement, which is not yet repaired. The Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders deceived the workers into the great slaughter of the war.

### **3. From The Russian Revolution, 1917, To The End Of World War 2, 1945**

On March 14, 1917, Russia undertook to get out of the blood bath of World War I by throwing off the Czar and establishing a provisional capitalist government; but the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie, still in control after March, went right on with the war. The Russian workers and peasants demanded an end of World War I, and with it of the capitalist system. The masses, by now definitely under the leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party, defeated the associated capitalist and Social-Democratic politicians, and erected the Soviet system on November 7, 1917. This gave an enormous impulse to the world anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and socialist movements.

*The Socialist Current:* The Russian Revolution was a tremendous event—it marked a new period in the world, the beginning of an epoch. It was the first lasting workers' state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through it, one-sixth of the world had become socialist. As a result of the war and its consequent revolutions, four capitalist empires lay in ruins—

Germany, Austria, Turkey and Russia—with their Czars, Kaisers, and other nabobs deposed. The revolution marked the general crisis of the capitalist system. The workers in many countries of Eastern Europe also wanted to make a proletarian revolution, but most of the Socialist Parties and trade unions were in the hands of the reformists who sold out the revolution in Germany, Hungary, and elsewhere, for a few small reforms, opening the door to eventual fascism. They continued on with their alliance with the capitalists, and deepened still more the split in the labor movement.

The capitalists everywhere hated and dreaded the Soviet Union, and did all they could to kill it in its cradle. They looked upon it as their historic rival. They carried on an unscrupulous lying campaign against it all over the world and have continued this until the present day. They refused to grant it any loans to repair its shattered industries, or to build new ones. They maintained an embargo so tight that nothing could penetrate it, and hospital patients even had to have operations performed without any anesthesia. Many leading capitalist nations, including Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and the United States, carried on an open warfare and tried to overthrow the Soviet Union. The capitalist world blocked all imports and exports of the Soviet Union. They maintained that the Communists could neither build nor operate modern machinery. They underestimated every angle of the Soviet Union. And in this negative work, they had the full assistance of the Social-Democrats throughout the labor movement, including America. It took ten years, until 1928, for the workers, in such hard conditions, to bring the Soviet Union back to the point of production Czarist Russia had in 1913.

Despite all these obstacles, the Soviet Union, nevertheless, made constant headway industrially. In 1928, it launched its first five-year plan. The capitalists of the world, and their Social-Democratic henchmen, ridiculed this great plan, saying it was only so much propaganda, and declaring that the Russians were setting out to do in five years what would take fifty to do—manifestly an impossibility. But the workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party headed by Joseph Stalin (an effective leader in those years) went ahead nevertheless,

and fulfilled their "impossible" five-year plan in a little over four years. The capitalists lied about the whole thing, hiding its revolutionary meaning from the world. The AFL leaders in this country were especially vicious in their anti-Soviet propaganda. Not until the present day have they ever sent an official delegation to the USSR to investigate the new social order at first hand. As for the capitalist United States Government, it denied loans to the USSR, and refused also to recognize it diplomatically or to seat it in the League of Nations, which was then a tool of Great Britain and France. There was no scheme calculated to destroy the Soviet Union that they did not employ.

Traditionally, Russia was an industrially backward, under-developed country. Nevertheless, its workers and peasants, supported by the more advanced workers of the world, blazed ahead from year to year, as they fulfilled and over-fulfilled its successive five-year plans. The dictatorship of the proletariat was a striking practical success. The USSR repeatedly broke all production records. In 1913, America's general production per head of population was larger than Russia's: for ferrous metals 12 times; coal 25 times; oil 6 times; electric power 19 times. In 1920, Soviet Russia—because of the devastation of World War I, the Civil War and armed intervention after the Revolution, and the general hostility of capitalism—produced only one-fifth of its output of 1913; whereas in this period, the United States, because of ultra-favorable war conditions, had increased its production by at least 50% (because it was the chief gainer by World War I). But in the ensuing period the USSR went ahead continually, gaining rapidly, so that by 1940, it had increased its output nearly 9 times over 1913; whereas the United States, in the same period, and in spite of most favorable conditions, had barely doubled its production. (Statistics in this paragraph taken from *International Affairs*, March, 1959).

Obviously, the USSR, the only Socialist country at the time, was increasing its industrial output much more rapidly than the United States, the leading capitalist country. But the publicists of capitalism kept the tremendous meaning of all this from the people. The USSR outdistanced the European capitalist countries in production even more than it did the United

States. By the beginning of World War II, it had overtaken and surpassed all capitalist countries except the United States.

The superiority of the socialist USSR industrially, made constantly manifest by its swiftly expanding industrial system, was dramatically illustrated by the great economic crisis of 1929-32. This cyclical crisis, which knocked the world capitalist system flat, left the Soviet Union's industrial system intact and rapidly growing. In all the capitalist countries, millions of workers starved, unemployed. In the United States alone, there was an estimated 17 million jobless, and for ten years, there remained great masses of workers unemployed. All the while, the Soviet Union's industries boomed ahead. During this period, the world capitalist system lost enormously, and the USSR gained very greatly in prestige.

*The Expanding Democratic Mass Organizations:* The capitalists, with right-wing Social-Democratic help, managed to hang on in much of Eastern Europe. But, in general, in addition to the Russian Revolution, the workers eventually built many political parties and many trade unions. They also built organizations of the peasantry, cooperatives, youth, women, and other masses. Especially, they constructed anti-imperialist movements in many colonial and semi-colonial countries. The communists continued the tradition of the First International, which was truly an international organization. On a world scale, they challenged the capitalists and their Social-Democratic allies.

Meanwhile, all phases of the world revolutionary and people's movement, as well as the socialist nations of the USSR, made important progress, despite the severest opposition on the part of the employers. The democratic mass organizations in the capitalist countries were increasing. During the period before the the Second World War, the world trade union movement, the greatest mass democratic organization, both its conservative and its left wing, leaped from about 13 million on the eve of World War I, to about 60 million on the eve of World War II. This was by far the fastest growth ever made in its history. Even its conservative leaders could not hold it back completely. The principal achievement of labor and the trade unions, in this period, in the capitalist countries, was the organization of the main trustified industries, all of which, up to that time, were generally unorganized. There was also a considerable growth of such mass

groups as women's, youth, and cooperative organizations. Workers' parties, both Communist and Social-Democratic, also made progress during this period of a general advance of labor. The Social-Democratic parties' progress was restricted chiefly to the metropolitan countries of Europe. In many countries the Social-Democratic parties found themselves at the helm of state control, but nowhere did they establish socialism, or even try. This reactionary spirit was a tremendous drawback to the working class. Rarely did these parties, wholly or partly, help the workers; generally they aided capitalism. The Communist Parties, however, did not as yet come widely to majority anywhere. Up until the outbreak of World War II, there remained only one socialist country, the USSR. This, however, represented a disastrous loss to the capitalist system.

*The Colonial Anti-Imperialist Struggle:* The Communist Parties, in addition to building the revolutionary political organization of the workers, (the main revolutionary task), also worked for the creation of democratic mass organizations in the capitalist countries; and they devoted special care to the development of anti-imperialist movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—something the Social-Democratic parties largely ignored.

The dates of the foundation of the main Communist Parties in the then colonial areas of Asia are as follows: Turkey, 1918; Indonesia, 1920; China, 1921; India, 1922; Japan, 1922; Palestine, 1923; Burma, 1924; Malaya, 1925; Indo-China, 1930; Philippines, 1931. In Latin America, also, Communist Parties were established in practically all the countries in the 1920's. Likewise, although on a much smaller scale, in the countries of North and South Africa, during the same decade. These organizations began very busily to sow the seeds of most of the great liberation movements, which are now to be seen throughout the colonial world. By the outbreak of World War II, in 1940, the Chinese Revolutionists had at least 100 million peasants, workers, etc., who generally followed their lead. India and other colonial countries felt the results of all this anti-imperialist agitation and action.

Altogether, these three great movements described above—the socialist countries, the democratic mass organization, and the colonial anti-imperialist struggles—seriously lessened the power of capitalism.



During the period of, and between, the two great world wars—1914 and 1945—the whole labor and revolutionary movement in all its branches made by far the greatest progress in its entire history until then. The basic causes for this were the effects of the general crisis of capitalism, and of the Russian Revolution. The Social-Democratic organizations also grew, even to the extent of becoming the dominant parties in a few European countries, and they made claims for full credit for this growth. But such claims were basically in error—the credit primarily belongs to the Russian Revolution and its intensification of the class struggle aftermath. The labor movement would have been much further ahead, in every respect, if the Social-Democrats had fought for socialism rather than worked against it. Almost certainly there would have been a socialist Europe, at least.

The impulse for growth came from the Left, not the Right. The added growth achieved made for more potential and actual strength for the labor movement as a whole. But inasmuch as a great deal of this strength fell under the control of the right, to that extent the movement generally was weakened, actually and potentially. Through the split caused in labor's ranks by the Right, through the passivity of the Right leaders, through their acceptance and propagation of capitalism, and through their failure to fight for socialism, they tended to weaken the labor movement. However, to the degree that the rank and file of labor was really strengthened even under conservative leadership (in spite of all its drawbacks), to that extent capitalism was relatively weakened. This was dramatically to be seen by the trade union organization and unionization of several million workers of the basic industries in the United States during the Roosevelt period. Undoubtedly, this greatly strengthened the position of the working class, even though eventually (but not at first) the new organizations fell under Right-wing leadership.

## 4. Fascism Threatens To Destroy The Labor Movement

The capitalists have feared and dreaded the USSR ever since it was born, and they bitterly hated it. During the 1930's, many, if not the most of them, thought that they had evolved the means whereby to wipe out the Soviet Union and the entire anti-capitalist movement with it. This was fascism, which was supposed to produce the capitalist heaven, with the working class and all opposition completely enslaved. The Soviet Union, the workers' political parties, the trade unions, and various other democratic mass organizations (both left and right), were to be completely wiped out, and the workers rendered utterly helpless. This would be the perfect situation for the capitalists. The Social-Democrats proved to be no real obstacle to the advance of facism, as they refused to stand up and fight against it. They actually helped the fascist to power. It was the Communists primarily who finally saved the world, in World War II and afterward, from fascism, the greatest enslaving peril it had ever faced.

Fascism began in Italy, where the Social-Democrats capitulated to the Mussolini fascists in 1922, instead of pressing on to victory with the then maturing revolution. Hence, in the next decade, fascism was able to capture (mostly from half-willing Social-Democrats), all the states along the borders of the Soviet Union, except one—Czechoslovakia—which fell later. These states were Poland, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Rumania, Albania, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, etc., and they all became fascist controlled. In 1933, Hitler fascism captured Germany, and then Austria, which it was able to do principally because the Social-Democrats refused to join with the Communists in fighting against it. Next, in 1939, the Spanish Republic fell before the united fascists—again mainly because of lack of support from the Social-Democratic organizations and governments. Portugal also went fascist. In the other European capitalist countries—England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, etc. reactionary elements acquired great influence. The United States was by no means excepted from this disease; nor were the reactionary dictators of Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. Undoubtedly, capitalist leaders in many countries dreamed of a fascist world.

Meanwhile, under the pretext of fighting against a "red menace," Germany, Italy, and Japan, all of them fascist and super-militarist, had embarked upon an active pro-war policy. Undoubtedly, the other imperialist countries were sympathetic to the general pro-fascist and anti-Soviet aims of the fascist axis. Clearly, they were infected with the reactionary idea that the hour had struck in history to put an end to socialism and to wipe out the entire world labor movement. Only on these grounds could the refusal be understood of England, the United States, France, Belgium, etc. to make a united stand against the fascist countries, as the Soviet Union repeatedly proposed to them to do. Instead, with the aid of their Social-Democrats, they continued to appease the fascists, making one basic concession after another to the dictators' offensive. They could not come to an anti-labor basis. This was because the greedy German, Japanese, and Italian fascists wanted to dominate the world themselves. England, France, and the allies countries, were eager that the fascists should expand at the expense of the Soviet Union, but they were not prepared to give up their own domination. So Hitler, not satisfied with the concessions (appeasement) by England, France, etc., began World War II on September 3, 1939. Germany, Italy, and Japan were determined upon being the slave-masters of the world.

In a few weeks' time, the Hitler forces knocked out England, France, Belgium, Holland, and the other capitalist armies, and drove them all into the sea. Then the vain-glorious Hitler, sure that he could conquer the world, along with his allies, bit off more than he could chew. On June 22, 1941, fascist Germany attacked the Soviet Union, and Japan assailed the United States on December 7 of the same year. Few thought that the Soviet Union would cause Hitler much difficulty, even with the help of America's much too meager lend-lease and war "cooperation." All the bourgeois war experts said it would not take Hitler over six weeks to crush the Soviet Union. Then Germany would join forces with Japan, and engage the United States, which was almost completely occupied with the latter country.

But it all turned out very differently. The Soviet Union, fighting almost alone against a conquered Europe armed under Hitler's banner, defeated the *Wehrmacht* at Stalingrad, and drove Hitler back about 1500 miles to Berlin. Daily for over a year,

his armies suffered one defeat after another on the epic retreat. This practically cost him the whole war. The rest of the fighting against Hitler and Japan by the United States, the Soviet Union, People's China, and Great Britain, was essentially subordinate. The Soviet Union, at the head of the world democratic forces, had struck the main blows against Nazi Germany that won the war. It was chiefly responsible for saving world democracy. Without its help, there was not a ghost of a chance of the Western powers to defeat Nazi Germany, which was the center of the war. At this great victory, the prestige of the USSR and People's China soared skyward. It was the repudiation in life of a generation of lies against the socialist world. The Socialist country that had been blasted all over the world as a glaring failure ever since it was established, finally succeeded in winning the war and saving democracy in the world.

## **5. The Revolutionary Aftermath Of World War 2, And The Cold War, Until Geneva, 1955**

When World War II ended in Europe on April 15, 1945, with the unconditional surrender of Germany, and on August 14 of the same year, with the unconditional surrender of Japan, the worst blood bath of history came to an end. The capitalist system, which caused the war, had committed its greatest crime against humanity, and taken its longest stride into its general crisis. Over 25 million were killed by the war, 32 million were wounded, and a trillion dollars worth of property destroyed. The worst war sufferer by far was the Soviet Union. It lost nine times as many dead as its two allies—Great Britain and the United States—combined. The tremendous Soviet losses were due primarily because that country was made to bear the main burden of the war in fighting Germany.

Small wonder that humanity, after this terrible war experience, and the complete exposure of the futility of the capitalist social system, tended to put the blame for his unequaled catastrophe where it belonged, upon capitalism, which had generated the war. In the next five years, consequently, there developed the

greatest mass movement against capitalism, and towards socialism, in the world's history. The three great historic phases of resistance to capitalism, all growing rapidly, contributed to this end. Whereas prior to World War II, the Soviet Union had been the sole socialist country, after that war, with unparalleled swiftness it repaired its horrible war damages, and socialism expanded with gigantic strides. Within the next five years, there developed a powerful socialist system of states, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the USSR to China, and encompassing about one-third of the people of the world.\*

Besides, the democratic mass organizations in the capitalist countries (the second phase of the world peoples' movement), in the revolutionary surge of the times and the socialist masses, vastly increased in strength, the trade unions alone having 160 million members. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, which we are here classing under the head of democratic mass organizations, were very powerful, many of them. For example, in Italy, the Communist Party developed 2½ million members, and over 6 million voters; in France, the Communist Party, with almost a million members, has about 5 million voters, and has become the biggest party in the country; in Indonesia, the Communist Party built up 1,800,000 members, and about 8 million voters; etc. Moreover, the third great detachment of the anti-imperialist forces got into motion, as the colonial nations, particularly of Asia, with China in the lead, embracing over half of humanity, began to take a definite stand against the capitalist system, in varying degrees, sometimes objectively, sometimes subjectively, sometimes both.

The foregoing, in substance, were the revolutionary forces during the early years after World War II, and they increased as the years passed. But the capitalist system, thoroughly entrenched over the centuries, would not give up readily. The capitalists would fight in defense of their system of organized exploitation of the people. Especially in the United States. In the previous period, culminating in World War II, the most reac-

\* Significantly, in establishing these new socialist countries, the workers and peasants turned their main opposition to the monopolies and big land-owners, for the most part. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. they first socialized only enterprises containing over 50 workers. In China, also, the main socialization blow was struck against big capital. In all cases, however, the workers and peasants finally abolished the capitalist system and established the socialist system—People's Democracy. Significantly, also, in the mid-1930's, the workers, in the People's Front of France, Italy, and Spain, cooperated with the peasants and smaller business against the big landowners and trusts, as the "200 families" in France.

tionary elements in the capitalist system, the fascists, who dominated many countries, and who were a real power in all the capitalist countries, including to a certain extent the United States and Great Britain, had made a fierce effort to do away with socialism and the labor movement, root and branch, and to place world society in all its aspects under the iron-bound control of a few monopolists and militarists, in Germany and Japan, who would proceed to rule the world dictatorially.

Fascism was their supreme effort to save the capitalist system, to destroy socialism and the labor movement, and at the expense of a greatly intensified exploitation of the masses. But this monstrous plot against the human race failed ingloriously. It was crushed in World War II, primarily due to the inveterate resistance of the socialist countries and the labor and liberal world. An elementary factor in defeating fascism was the failure of the big capitalist elements in all the monopolistic countries, who were largely fascists, to unite with each other. What they produced, instead of their planned reactionary world domination, was a capitalist system badly devastated; and an enormous growth of socialism after World War II. The defeat of fascism in World War II was a decisive victory for world democracy, with the socialist forces at the head.

The United States, which had been uninjured in the two world wars, and which had grown strong from participating in them, true to its monopolistic nature, during the past three or four decades, had increasingly looked upon itself as the leading power in the world. It was, by far, the most powerful capitalist nation, uninjured by the war's bombing and destruction, equipped with a mighty world-wide military machine, controlling about one-half of the world's industrial production (although it has only about 7% of the world's population), possessing a monopoly of the manufacture of the atomic and hydrogen bombs; and it would use them, as war history in Japan showed.

The hard-boiled imperialists in the United States deemed that the strategic moment had come for them to dominate the world. This was the essential beginning of the cold war. All the great imperialist powers in the world—Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, were devastated to the point of exhaustion by the war. The Soviet Union, which practically had to fight alone and defeat the monstrous Hitler war machine, was

very heavily damaged. But not so the United States—it was totally uninjured as an imperialist power.

Its leaders figured that the moment could not be more favorable for this country to move for world domination if it had especially planned it. So, true to the instincts and nature of a great imperialist power, it set out to rule the socialist, as well as the capitalist, sectors of the world. It was even willing to launch an atomic war, if need be, in order to secure its victory. Therefore, it proceeded to build a stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and to construct air bases all over the world, aimed against the socialist countries. These bomb centers also served to intimidate the capitalist part of the world as well as the socialist. The American Government pursued as "atomic diplomacy," and had a "get-tough with Russia" line. It proceeded to organize all the forces of world imperialism to prevent the further spread of socialism, to hinder the establishment of colonial liberation regimes, and to prop up the broken down capitalist system throughout the world. All this militant aggressiveness against socialism and the world's peoples was done under slogans of defense against a mythical "communist imperialism."

*The Peace Forces Organize:* The other side of the cold war was the socialist-peace forces, which built up a powerful defense against the American imperialist offensive. If the Soviet Union could be overcome, it was hoped that the rest of the world could be easily taken care of. The artificial hatred that was thus built up against the Soviet Union had no parallel in American history. In People's China, there was also an example of the arrogant attitude of the American imperialists in their great drive for world power. They gave support to the bandit Chiang Kai-shek, and did whatever they could to create revolts in People's China. In all the People's Democracies, and other socialist countries, the United States took the lead in organizing disruptive attacks. Congress passed a law appropriating 100 million dollars for cold war plottings, and for which no accounting had to be made. One of the examples of this work was the June 23 insurrection of 1953 in East Berlin. Open warfare developed on many fronts in the following out of this American positions-of-strength strategy.

The United States had the general backing of the imperialists in other countries, which carried in their hands the United Na-

tions. The (Democratic) Truman government (1945-52) proposed to "contain," i.e. to halt by arms (cold war), the spread of communism; and the (Republican) Eisenhower administration (1952 to 1960) criticized the ultra-militaristic Truman administration as having been too mild, proposing instead of "containing" the socialist countries, to "liberate" them (i.e. to overthrow their socialist governments). This warlike objective was the purpose of the Marshall Plan, the whole military trappings of the government, the elaborate loan system, the extensive system of regional military treaties, etc. John Foster Dulles was one of the evil geniuses of this regime; he scurried over the world organizing NATO, SEATO, the Bagdad Pact, the "Eisenhower Doctrine," etc. His brother, Allan Dulles, head of the C.I.A., supplemented this cold war activity with a huge and fantastic program of sabotage, subversion, espionage, etc., such as the world has never known.

*The Danger of Atomic World War:* The Eisenhower Government, like the Truman predecessor, was prepared to resort to an atomic war to realize its goal of "liberating" the socialist world. The government squandered many millions of dollars annually abroad for armaments, and did all possible to make its imperialist will prevail. The war spirit behind these two federal administrations was exhibited, among other facts, by the advocacy, in the press and in Congress, that a "shower" of atomic bombs be dropped upon the USSR and People's China, and that a preventive war be waged to bring the USSR into line. The government waged warfare against revolutionary Korea and Vietnam, and tried its best to develop a general war in East Germany. It also helped the French Republic to carry on its war against Tunisia and Algeria, and it supported the rebels in the counter-revolutionary attempt in Tibet. It was behind the attempt to overthrow the socialist republic in Hungary.

In all these spheres, the troops and other forces of imperialism were defeated or stalemated. The trouble for the forces of imperialism, under the general lead of Wall Street, was that the world masses fighting for peace were too strong and too militant for them. For self-preservation, they powerfully defended themselves and peace. The Soviet Union performed the extraordinary feat of breaking the atomic and hydrogen bomb monopoly of the United States, and it swiftly built up its own defenses, seriously



weakened in the last world war. The USSR and People's China made faster progress than ever before in the history of world communism. The people's forces defeated or stalemated the imperialist armies in Korea, Indo-China, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, etc. The mass democratic organizations, enormously grown in power, helped to arouse the whole world against the war danger. Their individual anti-war petitions ran to as many as 800,000,000 circulation. The colonial and ex-colonial countries were extensively in militant action. Egypt took over the Suez Canal; and Iraq and others declared independence. Africa, with its many countries, increasingly joined the great movement of the oppressed peoples towards colonial liberation. The United Nations are accepting several freed African nations every month. Latin America profoundly attacked U.S. imperialism in several countries on the special ground of Wall Street. Colonialism, a foundation of the capitalist system, continued to crumble on all sides. That other great force in the people's movement, chiefly the trade unions, developed on a world scale as never before.

All through this period, while stating that their intense war preparations were solely for "defense," the Wall Street imperialists have presented to the peace negotiations one plan after another, presumably to end the war tensions, but actually serving to keep them inflamed. Thus, the Baruch Plan aimed at giving the United States, through its majority control of the votes in the United Nations, a monopoly grip over all Russian bomb production as well as its use. It was a major pro-war measure. The Eisenhower Inspection Plan, organized on the same principle, aimed to control the whole inspection of the atomic and hydrogen bombs on a world scale under United States control. Manned by hand-picked United Nations personnel, this would flood the various socialist countries with spies and provocateurs, especially the USSR and People's China.

Premier Khrushchev of the USSR warned the capitalists not to declare war, over Berlin or otherwise. He told them that if the war-minded among the American Government leaders ventured to launch a world war in spite of the peace wishes of the great masses of the world, this devastation would mark the end of the capitalist system. In this respect, the capitalists have had a very bad experience with the two previous great wars. These wars have cost them one-third of the world in socialization, and

they fear, with good reason, that another war, although it undoubtedly would wreak great devastation upon socialism, would break the backbone of the capitalist system altogether.

But American imperialism, although repeatedly checked, went ahead with its sabre-rattling threats dangerously, nevertheless, despite the tremendous world mass movement for peace. It squandered many billions of dollars each year on military preparations (appropriations which are very profitable for the munitions manufacturers), and similar vast sums of money were spent yearly by its allies in advancing the cold war. The socialist countries, consequently, were likewise forced to spend huge sums in self-defense. The American imperialists, with their collaborators in other parts of the world, have been keeping the cold war going, and the war danger hot. This is the basic reason why there was such a strong anti-American feeling hanging over the world.

*The Imperialists Split the Labor Movement:* In addition to using these many futile war methods, the American imperialists, during the long aftermath of World War II, made several attempts to split the world labor movement, wholly or in part, and thus to weaken the very effective peace opposition. The imperialists had success in 1914-18 in splitting the working class and its parties in the latter's opposition to war, and in their revolutionary movement (in Germany and elsewhere)—a world-wide split which the workers have not yet fully repaired. Since World War II they have tried upon numerous occasions to repeat the disruption. In 1943 they tried to engineer a split under the leadership of Browderism, and it was not without some effect in the Communist Parties in the Americas. It failed, however, in its main objectives. The next big split of the period was in 1949, when George Meany, President of the AFL, and Walter Reuther, President of the CIO, engineered a rupture in the international labor movement on the issue of war and armaments, which split the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, and individual labor movements and unions in many parts of the world—Germany, Italy, India, etc., including the CIO in this country.

Class collaboration was the reverse side of this counterfeit coin. It aimed to undermine the workers' class struggle. This big move failed, however, to defeat the mass peace movement and socialism; and for the first time, the reformists became a minority

in the world trade union movement. There are 95 million members in the Left-led trade unions of the world, and about 60 million members in the reformist-led trade unions. The last split of the post-World War II period was engineered by the revisionists in the early 1950's, generally manifested by Titoism, the Hungarian revolt, the June insurrection in East Germany, etc., as well as by crises in some Communist Parties, including that of the United States.

This divisive attack, also, failed ingloriously to split the Communist and peace forces, or to halt them. The three great divisions—the socialist countries, the democratic mass organizations in the capitalist world, and the colonial liberation movement—continued to grow and expand. Never was the growth of all the elements making for socialism more vigorous and more decisive than now; nor was the basic strength of capitalism more undermined and threatened.

During recent decades, in fact practically since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Social-Democratic movement had played very little part in the real fight of the workers for socialism. On most occasions, its leaders had been a direct hindrance. Generally, they were to be found peddling pro-capitalist demagoguery, carrying through anti-labor splits, and other tactics detrimental to the fight for socialism. During the past forty years they have held parliamentary majorities in many countries, but nowhere did they even try to organize the popular masses for the victory of socialism.

*McCarthyism and the Attack Upon the Communist Party:* One of the worst American features of the cold war was McCarthyism, a local brand of fascism, headed by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy dealt in the big lie and "red imperialism." He claimed at the top of his lungs that the small Communist Party was attempting to seize the government by influencing political office holders. This was absurd, of course, but McCarthy was able with this nonsense to terrorize the whole country. His main target were the Communists, but he victimized all other progressive groups (and many conservatives) in the country. Great numbers of the American people believed the country was going fascist, and this was a widespread belief also in Europe. The American Communist Party was one of the few organizations that dared to stand up and

condemn McCarthyism as a pro-fascist menace, and to hold that the country would not succumb to fascism. McCarthyism was strengthened by the Korean War hysteria of 1950-53.

McCarthy terrorized even the government. Never in the whole history of the United States was there such a system of intimidation developed in the country as he created. He finally came to grief as a result of a grandiose attempt to dominate the army. This resulted in his being tried and condemned by the Senate for contempt. A broad popular upsurge of revulsion against McCarthyism swelled throughout the country. His whole movement exploded, blowing up in his face. He himself died shortly afterwards, and McCarthyism as a concrete movement subsided, although many McCarthyites and remnants of McCarthyism still persist.

Another reactionary American effect of the cold war was the vicious attack upon the Communist Party by both the Truman and Eisenhower Governments, between the years 1947 and 1955. The government initiated a fierce attack against the Communist Party on the basis of several near-fascist laws—Taft-Hartley, Smith Act, McCarran Act, Communist Control Act, etc. This all fitted in with McCarthyism. In many cities the Party offices were raided, and its officials sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary under the notorious Smith Act. Under this pressure the Party lost very severely in membership.

After 1955 (the Geneva Conference) the attack upon the Party was mitigated somewhat, but it at once gave birth to an intense crisis of right-wing revisionism. Where the government had vainly tried to destroy the Party from without, the revisionists undertook to do so from within. Neither succeeded, but the Party suffered greatly, and has not yet fully recovered from the effects of this crisis. (Some ultra-left elements developed during the crisis, but they were a minor force. However, the Party is now gradually gaining membership and a firm Communist line and leadership. What the American Communist Party has been going through is similar to the attacks, with loss of membership, etc., that every important Communist Party has passed through on its way to socialism.

*The Geneva Conference, 1955:* The cold war came to its most serious crisis in 1955. The major issue was the people's struggle against U.S. imperialist world domination. The world

was terrorized by the prospect of another great war. The peace forces fought resolutely for the holding of a Big Four Summit Conference, which should attempt to solve some of the many critical, concrete, problems which plagued the world. The United States imperialists, backed by the most relentless imperialist powers throughout the world, took a stubborn stand against the holding of a summit conference. This warlike attitude of the imperialist powers threatened humanity with a devastating atomic world war. The peace forces—socialist and colonial countries, trade unions, mass peace movements, insisted upon such a conference.

In the enormous peace movement of 1955 and succeeding years, it was made clear to the capitalists that if they ventured to force the issue to war, especially if they dared to use atomic and hydrogen bombs, it would mean the downfall of the world capitalist system. Faced by the greatest aggregation of political and military power in the world, arrayed on the side of peace, the imperialist forces eventually had to yield. Reluctantly, they agreed to a summit conference in Geneva, in 1955.

This conference did not settle definitely many specific problems; it did, however, very clearly signify that the imperialists, contrary to their usual custom, were too afraid of the outcome upon their system to risk a general war over the issue of imperialist world domination. Consequently, they agreed to negotiate the grave international differences between the powers. Especially it was tacitly understood that atomic bombs could not be used on a world scale. The cold war was thoroughly discredited, and a vague but powerful feeling grew throughout the world that peaceful coexistence, advocated by the socialist countries since Lenin, as the system of relationship between the rival capitalist and socialist powers. Thus, the imminent danger of a new world war was averted. It was a definite testimonial to the superior strength of socialism in the world. World socialism was coming to maturity.

## 6. The Struggle For Peaceful Coexistence

The Geneva 1955 Summit Conference scotched the cold war, but did not kill it. Nor did it wipe out the war danger altogether. The virus of imperialist exploitation and war was too deeply impregnated to perish so shortly. We must not forget the danger of fascism, hare-brained and warlike; sudden imperialist crises, and other reckless war dangers. American imperialism, although given a serious setback, did not clearly abandon its drive for world conquest, as humanity was soon to experience. It was not long after the 1955 Geneva Conference that the international situation began to tense up again, as emphasized by the Polish and Hungarian situations, the Suez invasion, Lebanon, Jordan, Algeria, etc. These incidents all bore the seeds of the gravest clashes, which the socialist and peace forces had to guard against. They were enabled to do this because, meanwhile, the socialist countries were blazing ahead, making tremendous progress. This took the familiar pattern of the social advances which we have seen since the beginning of the class struggle long ago.

1. Russia has its Seven-Year Plan, and is making gigantic progress. It has gained enormous rocket successes, and accomplished breath-taking trips into outer space; it has just launched a space ship that far surpasses anything in existence, and has made great scientific, educational, and other advances; it is rapidly catching up to the United States industrially, and is astounding the bourgeois world. People's China, too, has made its Great Leap Forward, and is boldly racing to overtake and surpass Great Britain, in the industrial field, again to the amazement of the erstwhile bourgeois masters. Likewise, the People's Democracies (socialist countries) in Europe and Asia are surging forward, industrially and otherwise. 2. The democratic mass organizations in the capitalist countries are playing a very important role—a striking example being the latest 3-months long strike of the 500,000 steel workers in the United States, and other strikes and struggles. 3. The colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are distinguishing themselves by forward movement, as exemplified by the Cuban, Venezuelan, and Iraqi

Revolutions, the Algerian war of liberation, the emergence of many newly independent African nations, etc., etc. The recent revolutions and political upheavals in South Korea, Turkey and Japan are directly related to the above movements.

These great currents, which feed the general movement for socialism, are pursuing the main policy of peaceful coexistence. This involves a struggle. The capitalist class, in its long years of arbitrary rule and limitless ambitions, has built up many obstacles to progress and socialism, and it will not see these overcome and removed short of a determined fight against it. It is the great task of the progressive, socialist movement in general to make its way to socialism through peaceful, coexistence, while at the same time preventing war.

Among the great obstacles, particularly of an international character, standing in the way of peaceful coexistence are: imperialist war, instigated by America, which could decimate the world; gigantic systems of armaments, including the great stockpiles of A and H bombs; the huge armies, navies and air forces that have been built up by the great imperialist powers; the notorious American air and other military bases which exist in many countries; the continuing invasion by the U.S. military forces of various territories, especially People's China; international boycotts, especially of China; organized intimidation of the small states by the imperialist powers, etc.

There are many more obstructions of a domestic character to peaceful coexistence, which, in view of the pressure of world imperialism, have a way of becoming international crises. These include, for example, the German situation, which already has serious world consequences; the split condition of Korea and Viet-nam; the domination of the governments in all countries by their bourgeoisies; the apartheid policies, wholly or partially, in most capitalist countries; the monopolization by the bourgeoisie of the press, radio, television, etc.; and above all, the private ownership of industry, with its deep exploitation of the working class, and its payment to the capitalists of many billions of dollars a year in the form of profits. All these issues, and many more, can furnish the grounds for possible wars and other difficulties for peaceful coexistence between the forces of socialism and capitalism, as the world movement to socialism proceeds.

*The 1960 Summit Crisis:* Just now, peaceful coexistence is undergoing a sharp crisis, following the breakup and aftermath of the Paris Summit Conference in the spring of 1960. This crisis was caused by the attempt of the United States to enforce its self-ordained and arrogant right of airplane spying upon other countries, notably the Soviet Union. On the eve of the Summit Conference, true to its ultra-aggressive imperialist policy, the United States sent one of its spying planes deep into the Soviet Union. The latter country, in self-defense, shot it down. The United States defended its right to send spy planes, presumably over the whole socialist world. The Summit Meeting was dissolved. The scheduled Eisenhower trip to the Soviet Union, which was a follow-up of the Khrushchev trip to the United States, was cancelled. Basically, the collapse of the Summit Conference was caused by the stubborn resistance of the United States to treat with the Soviet Union on a basis of equality and its refusal to allow the Summit Conference to function for peace and disarmament. The U-2 incident was the last straw.

The Soviet Union appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations, on the grounds that the spy plane incident was an American aggression which threatened the peace of the world. Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, made a brilliant argument on the matter in the Security Council, pointing out that President Eisenhower, by his conduct in the Summit Conference, and in his international broadcasts, had brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war by his failure to abandon this policy. Gromyko especially pointed out the danger to the smaller countries of the world of allowing the United States to assume the right to spy on other countries as it saw fit, and generally to tread on their rights.

Ambassador Lodge, of the United States, dodged the main issue in the United Nations, and stressed fake alarms over Russian spies in various countries; he obviously used American pressure against the smaller countries. He attempted to play down the whole U-2 incident as not very important, and especially not dangerous to peace. The Security Council finally voted down the Gromyko resolution: 2 for, 7 against, and 2 abstentions. Gromyko castigated the imperialist countries for slavishly following the leadership of the United States, and



he especially warned the small countries of the danger of yielding to the imperialist pressures of the United States in not supporting the Soviet resolution, which would have condemned the spying of the United States. Finally, a compromise resolution was adopted, which the United States supported, with the Soviet Union and Poland abstaining. This straddling resolution, in vague language, discouraged the use of provocative weapons, although it rejected Gromyko's motion to condemn spy flights.

Whether or not the issue will be appealed to the General Assembly of the United Nations is not clear, but in any event there has been a mortal blow struck at plane spying and at the swollen and dangerous ambitions of the United States to boss every other country. It is safe to say that the Summit Conference, broken up as it was, is actually accomplishing more progress than it could have done if it had gone through as scheduled. As it was, the western great powers, "led" by the United States, were all set, and they made few bones of the fact, to make it as barren of progressive results as possible. The present weepings of the imperialist powers over the ill-fated Paris Summit Conference are only so many "alligator tears."

This is not the end of peaceful coexistence, nor was this the last summit conference. There will be future and better peace conferences, with innovations conforming to the growing strength of world socialism and the world peace forces. Already, the faint outlines of some of these new features can be seen. One thing we can be sure of is that not for long, if any longer at all, will the Soviet Union consent, under compulsion, to let the odds in the conference control, be stacked against it three to one, with the "three" letting the world know beforehand that "nothing important" would come out of the summit conference. For example, President Eisenhower, a knocker of the summit conference from the start, was in such a hurry to rush off to fascist Portugal that he allotted only six days to the summit with the idea of Nixon substituting for him half of the time.

Since the collapse of the Paris Summit Conference, there has been a growing mass attack on American air bases in various countries. The many peoples, upon whose lands such bases are

located, are objecting to playing a role of military stooges for the United States. Protests against these American bases have been heard in many countries. One of the most spectacular was the one in recent months in Japan. So strong were the mass protests, running up all told, to 20 million demonstrators or more, that President Eisenhower had to cancel his militaristic trip to that country. United States imperialism thus received a serious blow against its militaristic plans aimed at the Socialist world.

Especially, future conferences for peace and disarmament will be more representative. Up until this date, the summit conferences have been based upon the glaring falsity that the center of world political gravity rests in Western Europe and the United States. But how about People's China, representing about one-fourth of the people of the world? And India, Indonesia, and other large Eastern countries? The Russians are already demanding their representation. The small group of imperialists, who now dominate the United States and also dictate policy to the United Nations, have arbitrarily decided that not only shall China be denied its proper place in all summit conferences, but it also shall be robbed of important sections of its territory and even refused a seat in the United Nations. At the same time, the imperialists glorify the Chiang Kai-shek bandits. The imperialists vainly hope to split People's China from the Soviet Union, and thus to be able to defeat the world revolutionary movement. This American imperialist idiocy must be stopped at once. There must be no international peace-disarmament conferences held without the Chinese having full representation. This can be accomplished if the socialist world firmly demands it. The full recognition of People's China and all other Asian and African lands will be one of the severest defeats the imperialists have ever suffered. And it will be only the start, although the most important change, to make the United Nations more truly representative.

## 7. The Growing World Predominance Of Socialism

The meaning of the historic changes that have been taking place in the world is that socialism has been developing at a speed at least twice as fast as capitalism is expanding. In many ways, socialism is proving itself much the stronger. The imperialists have already lost their long-held position of being able to rule the world essentially as they pleased. But they have not yet been fully compelled to abandon their war objectives and their determination to rule the world, although both of these ambitions have been seriously disrupted. The socialist forces are able in many instances to balk the reactionary will of the imperialists, and to make their own progressive policies prevail. The balance is not yet fully on the side of socialism and its allies, in all things; but the overweight in general is on that side, and it is constantly growing more definite and decisive.

Just when the broad forces of socialism began crossing this "hump" between capitalism and socialism is largely a matter of speculation, but very probably it was in the neighborhood of 1955 (as signified by the Geneva Conference). At that time the peoples, under the lead of the socialist powers, definitely blocked the imperialists' drive towards war, and they also served notice that they would not permit the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs. Since, then, with the broad socialist world storming ahead much the faster, the world predominance of the socialist countries is becoming more and more marked.

Measuring the general effect upon capitalism of the many blows it has suffered in recent decades, and the growing strength of the socialist and peace forces, the 12 mass Communist and Workers Parties in the socialist countries, at their conference in Moscow in November, 1957, said the following: "An alliance of these mighty forces (the peace forces) could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for its peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices" (*For Peace, For Socialism*, p. 6). Shortly before this, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, had ana-

lyzed the relationship of world forces thus: "The whole world now has a population of 2,700 million, of which the various socialist countries account for nearly 1,000 million, the independent, former colonial countries make up more than 700 million, and the capitalist countries now struggling for independent producers just dabble in production on a small scale, without countries with neutral tendencies, have 600 million. The population of the imperialist camp is only about 400 million; moreover, they are divided internally. 'Earthquakes' may occur there. At present, it is not the West wind which is prevailing over the East wind, but the East wind that is prevailing over the West wind." (Mao Tse-tung, *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*," p. 27.)

The intrinsic superiority of socialism over capitalism is far greater than is shown by the above devastating figures. Thus, one of the greatest weaknesses of capitalism is that millions of producers just dabble in production on a small scale, without the power to build real mass industry. The entire capitalist system is also subject to periodic economic crises, which throw the whole apparatus into confusion. The system is also loaded up with millions of unproductive owning elements (parasites) who devour the products of the people like locusts, and give nothing in return but political oppression. This is done through the monstrous system of robbing the workers of their surplus-value. Another basic handicap of the system is that it is a mish-mash of monopoly and competition, with millions of small producers carrying on a losing fight against the monopolistic masters. There are also many useless "industries," such as advertising, stock peddling, the vast law apparatus, crime in all its huge branches as a big business, etc., that consume hundreds of millions of dollars of the substance of the people. The vast productive capacity of women workers is only utilized about one-third of potential.

In many capitalist countries, national minorities are definitely repressed in every direction, preventing their development economically, politically, and socially, which weakens these countries. The capitalist countries are operated upon a false democracy; actually, in armaments industries, and above all key industries, they are basically in the hands of the big capitalists, and the rest are politically as well as economically stunted

and weakened. Many of the capitalist countries are small, some almost infinitesimal, which prevents their ever developing the attributes of strong powers. The colonies and ex-colonies are restricted in many ways; formerly (enslaved, they were a great help to the capitalist system, but now (partly independent), they are increasingly a burden upon it. The great evils of war and armaments are also capitalistic, and their removal will mark a great revolutionary advance by humanity. The greatest weakness of capitalism is that its banks, factories, and farms are privately owned, and for their use society has to pay their private owners countless billions of dollars, experience endless class struggle, resulting finally in the socialist revolution. In short, these many weaknesses of capitalism, and many more that might be cited, in contrast to socialism, sum up to a general, incurable, crisis of capitalism.

On the other hand, socialism has great strengths in contrast to these capitalist weaknesses. Its whole production apparatus, financial, industrial, agricultural, banking, etc., is so constructed that it lends itself to efficiency, planning, and organization, instead of the capitalist chaos. The whole economic apparatus is based upon ownership by the socialist peoples, instead of by private exploiters. Economic crises are unknown. The workers, also, are not robbed of their surplus-value, nor is the society dominated by a series of monopolies. Such useless activities as advertising, stock peddling, most of law, crime, etc., are either absent entirely, or reduced to an absolute minimum in the socialist countries. Women workers in the socialist world are more than double the number of women workers in the capitalist countries, percentage-wise. National minorities enjoy full equality under socialism, and therefore are fully developed in every direction. Socialist democracy is also genuine democracy, and not a cover up for ownership by the big monopolies. Socialism opens the way to the birth of great, broad, multi-national countries, such as the Soviet Union and People's China, which have the essentials for their fullest modern development in all fields. The socialist world is the inveterate enemy of war and armaments in all their respects. In short, socialism is the modern, advanced form of society, and capitalism, in every respect is obsolete and vastly inferior to it.

The capitalists know that something is wrong with their

system, although they are not prepared to accept the Marxist analysis that capitalism is in an incurable crisis. They adopt various means to hide the true nature of capitalism from the masses, who generally are opposed to that system when they understand it. Thus, the capitalists no longer speak of the struggle between capital and labor, but of "management" and labor, a change in words which is supposed to make the class struggle seem more palatable. They also paint their society as "people's capitalism," "new capitalism," and the like. They look with toleration upon Right-wing Social Democracy, religious obscurantism, and various forms of reformism and revisionism, which help to keep alive and obscure the exploitation role of the obsolete capitalist system. They are especially careful almost never to mention the central fact of capitalism, namely that it is a means whereby private individuals and monopoly groups own and control all the industries and farms, and that industry cannot operate for the benefit of society without first giving big profits to the capitalist owners. This pernicious situation is becoming increasingly intolerable throughout the world, and capitalism tries to hide it, while jealously maintaining it.

There are some capitalists, and their writing stooges, who attempt to say that capitalism is gradually turning to socialism or something "just as good." But this is a falsity. Today, because of capitalism, untold millions of people throughout the world are lingering in starvation, and capitalism has no means to bring them real relief. If in some countries wages and working conditions, citizenship rights, and so on, are somewhat better than they were a century ago, this is because of the heroic struggle in all these countries ceaselessly kept up over the years by the workers. The history of working class progress has been an endless fight against the capitalist exploiting owners for even the slightest improvement. It is only when the workers have established socialism that the floodgates of progress are freed from the parasitic capitalist exploiters, and the advance of the workers rapidly takes place without hindrance. That is why socialism grows so decisively.

The monopolists use every means at their disposal to check the growth of the labor movement in all its branches. In this respect, however, they are falling upon evil days, since their

ability to use war as the means for their own advancement and the disruption of the working class is being drastically curbed. They are keen, notwithstanding, to use whatever means they can to sabotage the workers' young movements. Another typical example of imperialism's intrigues against world socialism was the attempt to overthrow the Hungarian socialist government from within, which might have provoked a world war. Their latest effort in this direction is to try to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and People's China, but this, also, is failing ingloriously. The Soviet Union and People's China are inseparably bound together in their basic aims. Little social progress can be made in the West until the chains that the imperialists have forged around China are first broken, and they will be in due course.

Capitalism is deeply intrenched, and will fight viciously for the many points of vantage it has built up in the past couple of centuries. The world, however, is going into a new period of peaceful coexistence, one in which general atomic and rocket wars will become almost, if not quite, impossible, and social growth cannot be stopped or checked. Socialism is on the march and is irresistible. This does not mean an offhand, easy victory, however. The stronger socialism becomes, the greater will be the difficulty, if not impossibility, of the capitalist powers to wage imperialist war against each other or against the workers' cause. The scientific labors of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, plus the struggle of millions of workers for over a century, are continuing victoriously, and capitalism is no longer able to hold back socialism even temporarily.

## POPULAR ECONOMICS SERIES

### DECISION IN AFRICA

by Alphaeus Hunton

A basic study and dramatic account of the social structures and the fight for independence on the whole African continent. \$1.85

### THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

by Victor Perlo

#### The Economic Race

A comparison of rates of economic growth of capitalist and socialist society. \$1.25

### PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM

by J. M. Budish

The myth of mass stock-ownership. Monopoly under a new name. Economic development. 50¢

### THE BURDEN OF TAXES

Labor Research Association

How taxes take a third of your income; what you pay for weapons; tax "reform" for the rich; a people's tax program. 50¢

### THE INCOME 'REVOLUTION'

by Victor Perlo

In collaboration with Labor Research Association. A critique of current theories, this study reveals the real class distribution of income in the U.S. 35¢

### BILLIONAIRE CORPORATIONS

Labor Research Association

A study of the top monopolies, their links with peak finance and government, and their policies. 35¢

### APOLOGISTS FOR MONOPOLY

Labor Research Association

A critique of current theories in defense of monopoly and of statistical attempts to prove its decline, with a suggested anti-monopoly program. 50¢

### U.S. OVER LATIN AMERICA

by Herman Olden

In collaboration with Labor Research Association. An analysis of Latin American development in relation to the dominant role of the United States in the Hemisphere. 50¢

### U.S. AND THE PHILIPPINES

Labor Research Association

Economic, social and political aspects of the fight for full freedom and independence. 50¢

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS — 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16

50¢